

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 037754 TOSEC 040013

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOLLOWING REPEAT JAKARTA 2098 ACTION SECSTATE 17 FEB 76

QUOTE

S E C R E T JAKARTA 2098

NODIS/CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, ID, PT, MASS

SUBJECT: INDONESIAN MAP AND TIMOR

REF: JAKARTA 1239

1. THIS MESSAGE RAISES QUESTION WHETHER DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR INDONESIA AND TIMOR SINCE MY EARLIER TELEGRAM NOW REQUIRE RECONSIDERATION OF DESIRABILITY DISCUSSING QUESTION WITH GOI. OPTIONAL COURSES ARE SUGGESTED FOR SUCH DISCUSSIONS.

2. FROM JAKARTA VANTAGE POINT WE SEE SEVERAL PRESSURES CONVERGING WHICH MAY MAKE SOME ACTION ON OUR PART NECESSARY IN WEEKS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD:

A. CONGRESSIONAL QUERIES: WE HAVE NOW RECEIVED COPY OF ROSENTHAL LETTER OF JANUARY 16. DEPARTMENT MAY ALREADY

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HAVE REPLIED. IF SO, WE PRESUME REPLY WAS NOT MARKEDLY

DIFFERENT FROM REPLY TO HART LETTER. OBVIOUSLY, HOWEVER, WE WILL SOON NEED HAVE MORE PRECISE RESPONSE IF WE ARE TO AVOID OPEN CONTROVERSY WITH CONTRASS AND POSSIBLE RIDERS AFFECTING OUR WHOLE PROGRAM.

B. GOI AWARENESS: IT IS NOT IN NATURE OF INDONESIANS TO CONFRONT OTHERS WITH UNPLEASANT FACTS. WE HAVE IMPRESSION, HOWEVER, THAT THEY ARE AWARE OF PROBLEM AND MAY ALREADY BE SEEKING ALTERNATIVES. FUAD HASSAN, AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO EGYPT, TOLD ME LAST WEEK HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED INVESTIGATE POSSIBLE ARMS SOURCES IN MIDDLE EAST. IF WE CANNOT TAKE INDONESIANS INTO OUR CONFIDENCE SOON IN POSITIVE MANNER, I FEAR WE MAY BE FACED WITH ACTIONS ON THEIR PART WHICH COULD ALTER OUR PRESENT RELATIONSHIP. WE ANTICIPATE RENEWED INTEREST ON THEIR PART AFTER THEIR CURRENT PREOCCUPATION WITH BALI ASEAN SUMMIT IS OVER (FEB. 23-25).

C. SECURITY ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION: AS SECURITY ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION MOVES FORWARD, INDONESIAN PROGRAM IS OBVIOUSLY THREATENED IF OUR RESPONSE ON TIMOR HAS BEEN DEEMED UNSATISFACTORY.

D. PROGRAM ACTIONS: WHILE WE CURRENTLY BENEFIT FROM UNSETTLED QUESTION OF CREDIT TERMS FOR SIKORSKY HELICOPTERS (CHUSD LG 120834Z FEB 76), RISING COST OF HELICOPTERS, PRESSURE FROM COMPANY, AND OBVIOUS INDONESIAN DESIRE FOR THIS EQUIPMENT COULD BRING MATTER TO HEAD. THERE IS OUTSIDE POSSIBILITY GOI WOULD ACCEPT FIVE YEAR TERMS THUS PRESENTING US WITH NEED FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION.

3. OUR BASIS OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO PRESERVE STRONG RELATIONSHIP WITH INDONESIAN LEADERSHIP; OUR MILITARY EQUIPMENT SUPPLY IS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO THIS RELATIONSHIP. WE FURTHER DESIRE AVOID FORMAL SUSPENSION WHICH COULD NOT ONLY HAVE POLITICAL REPRECUSIONS BUT COULD COMPLICATE POSSIBILITIES RESUMPTION. IN PROPOSING WHAT WE MAY SAY TO GOI, WE HAVE IN MIND THAT WE MUST SPEAK WITH SAME VOICE THAT WE DO TO CONGRESS. WHILE WE APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT SEIZED WITH QUESTION OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH CONGRESS, OUR OWN SUGGESTIONS TAKE POSSIBLE REPLIES TO CONGRESSIONAL QUERIES INTO CONSIDERATION.

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4. SINCE ALL OUR INFORMATION ON ACTUAL USE U.S. EQUIPMENT IN TIMOR COMES FROM SENSITIVE SOURCES, WE MUST ACT ONLY ON "ASSUMPTION" THAT ARMS HAVE BEEN USED. INDONESIANS WOULD PROBABLY NOT CONFIRM SUCH USE IN REPLY TO DIRECT QUESTION BUT WILL PROBABLY NOT DENY OUR ASSUMPTION.

5. WE SHOULD HAVE NO ILLUSIONS REGARDING SENSITIVITIES INDONESIANS ON THIS QUESTION, NOT ONLY FROM STANDPOINT

POSSIBLE EFFECT ON THEIR MILITARY PROCUREMENT, BUT, ALSO, FROM STANDPOINT NATIONAL PRIDE. RECENT DIAH ARTICLES ATTACKING GOVERNMENT AS BEING TOO CLOSE TO WESTERN POWERS MAKES PRESIDENT AND OTHERS EVEN MORE SENSITIVE THAN USUAL TO OUTSIDE WESTERN PRESSURES AND ACTIONS. INDONESIANS MAY ALSO BE AWARE THAT AUSTRALIAN PM FRASER IS WATCHING WHAT WE DO ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND MIGHT BE INCLINED SHOW EQUAL MORAL FERVOR IN EVENT WE CUT OFF OUR PROGRAM.

6. I THEREFORE PROPOSE THAT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER SUMMIT I SEE MINISTER PANGGABEAN OR MINISTER SUDHARMONO AND LAY BEFORE HIM OUR THINKING ON PROBLEM. AS I SEE IT, WE HAVE FOUR ALTERNATIVE POSITIVE APPROACHES. I WILL APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S ADVICE AS TO WHICH ONE HAS BEST PROSPECT IN TERMS OUR RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS. FROM STANDPOINT RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA, OPTION A BELOW OBVIOUSLY PREFERABLE.

A. AS SUGGESTED IN REFTEL WE CAN BASE OUR APPROACH ON DEFENSE OF GOI ACTION AND CLAIM THAT GOI TOOK ACTION FOR PURPOSES OF INTERNAL SECURITY AND LEGITIMATE DEFENSE AND IS NOT, THEREFORE, DISQUALIFIED UNDER FAA SECTION 502. THIS ACTION HAS DISADVANTAGE THAT IT MAY BE CHALLENGED BY THOSE UNSYMPATHETIC WITH INDONESIAN RATIONALE AND COULD DRAW US INTO APPEARING DEFEND INDONESIAN ACTION.

B. ON BASIS OF INDONESIAN COOPERATION WITH UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE, HIS FINAL REPORT, AND, HOPEFULLY, SOME ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, WE COULD CLAIM THAT INDONESIAN ACTION WAS CONSISTENT WITH CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND FOR THIS REASON DOES NOT DISQUALIFY INDONESIA UNDER SECTION 502. DISADVANTAGES HERE ARE THAT UN REPRESENTATIVE GUICCIARDI ALMOST CERTAIN TO POINT OUT HIS DIFFICULTY IN MEETING WITH FRETELIN AND ANY ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION LIKELY BE BOTH DELAYED AND TRANSPARENT.

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C. WE COULD BASE CONTINUATION OF PROGRAM ON GROUNDS THAT EITHER SUCH AMERICAN ARMS AS WERE USED HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN FROM TERRITORY OR THAT INDONESIAN FORCES INVOLVED HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN. IF DEPARTMENT FELT INDONESIAN ASSURANCES ON WITHDRAWAL OF ARMS WOULD SATISFY CONGRESSIONAL PROBLEM, I BELIEVE I COULD GET SUCH ASSURANCES WITHIN NEXT FEW WEEKS. THEY HAVE ALTERNATIVES FOR SUCH ARMS AS MAY BE REQUIRED FOR INTERNAL SECURITY PURPOSES. ASSURANCES ON WITHDRAWAL OF INDONESIAN FORCES LIKELY TAKE MORE TIME.

D. FOURTH ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE AGREEMENT WITH CONGRESS ON SOME REVISION OF PROGRAM WHICH CLEARLY EXCLUDES ARMS OF TYPE WHICH MIGHT BE USED ON GROUND IN TIMOR OR WHICH LEFT FOR FUTURE QUESTION OF INDONESIAN PROGRAM. SPECIFICALLY WE HAVE IN MIND:

(1) ON BASIS IMPORTANCE INDONESIA, PROCEEDING WITH

ALL MAP AND FMS ACTIONS UNDER ACTIVE DISCUSSION BEFORE
TIMOR CRISIS BUT UNDERTAKING NO NEW ACTIONS PENDING ACT
OF SELF-DETERMINATION OR LATER REVIEW OF SITUATION.

(2) HOLD UP FURTHER GRANT ACTIONS BUT PROCEED WITH
FMS GUARANTEES FOR FINANCING FOR COMMERCIAL SALES (I.E.
SIKORSKI HELICOPTERS).

(3) REVISE PROGRAM TO ELIMINATE ALL SMALL ARMS AND
OTHER LETHAL WEAPONS LIKELY BE USED ON TIMOR, CONCENTRAT-
ING PROGRAM ON EQUIPMENT ENTIRELY RELATED TO DEFENSE OF
WESTERN APPROACHES WHERE OUR MAJOR INTERESTS LIE (I.E.
SHIPS, HELICOPTERS AND SUREVEILLANCE EQUIPMENT).

7. PLEASE ADVISE.

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